

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panu atpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pōdri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see p. 358).

781 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tādār utiti*,
616 or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

781 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique,
836 who may belong to either division and to any clan, except
626 that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

● 583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,¹ different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

¹ The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnal* or *palinal*.

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödr*i at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödr*i. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is
588 that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
591 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

EXCHANGE OF BROTHER AND SISTER

582 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a
 583 brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother
 of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear
 that this frequently happens. A good example which may
 be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65),
 while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers
 of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in
 Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the
 genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely
 connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as
 almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the
 wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas
 the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it
 would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable
 that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of
 exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the com-
 bination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons
 as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*,
 if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of
 exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the
 chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two
 brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An
 example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan
 marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister.
 Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had
 595 two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12)
 and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death,
 Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the
 daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and
 his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they
 married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married
 his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from
 him by the *terersthi* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

674 doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas.

Acts such as infanticide are committed which would be regarded as crimes by others, but since these are the outcome of custom they are not crimes from the Toda point of view.

673 Again, we have seen that the Todas have a code of offences against the dairy, but these must be regarded as sins rather than as crimes, for they are neither investigated nor punished by the civil authority, the *naim*, but are punished directly by the gods, and the various ceremonies described in Chapter XIII are expiatory and not punitive.

578 The list of offences given on p. 295 includes quarrelling between people of the same clan at a festival and quarrelling
673 in the dairy. In both cases the quarrelling is an offence
623 against the dairy, and I have no information to show whether quarrels ever lead to acts of violence which might in other
671 places become the subject of criminal investigation. So far as I could learn, any investigation by the *naim* would only deal with the causes which had led to the quarrel; it would deal only with the civil and not with the criminal aspect of the case.

583 Again, the custom of *terersthi*, or transference of wives, which is the chief subject of the deliberations of the *naim*, some-
586 times leads to acts of violence. A woman who has been
674 transferred by the *naim* from one man to another may be carried off by force from the home of the former, but,
177 however such an act may be regarded from our standpoint, it is not a crime from the Toda point of view, but merely the carrying out of the decision of the judicial authority. So many Todas are, however, discovering that such an act is regarded as a crime by Europeans that there will probably soon come about a state of public opinion which will regard such abduction as a crime, and possibly the same idea may become attached to the whole custom of transference of a woman from one man to another unwillingly. It seemed not unlikely at the time of my visit that this conversion of a custom into a crime might be assisted by the action of the Government.

000 In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Parden, but so far

CHAPTER XXV.

POLYANDRY—MARRIAGE.

Betrothal—Peculiar nature of Dowry—Ask Papa—'Will thou have this man?'—The Wedding Ring—Plurality of Husbands—Confusion of Progeny—Toda expressions for Marriage—The Bow and Arrow in Weddings.

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THE betrothal of the sexes in marriage is arranged in this fashion. The father or other male guardian of the lad—or the young man himself if of age and in a position to negotiate his own affairs—seeks an interview with the male protector of the girl whom he desires to wed. If his project be encouraged, nothing remains in the form of preliminaries but to discuss the amount of endowment—*kēikuli*¹—to be given. This is never paid in cash. Money is a very scarce article in the jungles; money may be, will be spent: and land not being transferable property, as we saw in the last Chapter, whilst kine affords the means of immediate support for a family, and is inheritable, the conference must of necessity be almost entirely restricted to determining the number of cattle—buffalos—of which the *kēikuli* shall consist; which, although it varies to a certain extent, lies commonly between one and four in number.

We imagine the young man to say, 'I will give you two buffalos as *kēikuli* for your daughter.' Here we note that owing to female infanticide, girls are in great demand; hence

¹ *Kēikuli* or *kekuli*. *Kai* = hand. *Koli* = what is received. Dravidian root, *kol* = receive.

Another possible derivation is *kukh* = woman. *Vilai* = price. *Kaikuli* = wages. [POPE]

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the dowry is received, not given, by the damsel's parents. 'Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.' Genesis xxxiv., 12. The girl's father may reply, 'We are all relations. I don't want your property. You have proved your sincerity. I will give you in exchange one, two, three, or four buffaloes.' This return present, may be more or it may be less than that offered by the wooer. Such, as I am assured by my friend, Mr. Metz, is actual Toda method of managing these affairs.

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583

I am not prepared to supply a reason for this custom. It may be a survival of some more ancient practice, or it may be a method suggested by self respect. The girl has been asked in marriage. She is not to be had for nothing. The young man is in earnest, and it is going to be a wedding and no mistake.

We notice that the transaction is not the payment so much as the exchange of dowers. Seemingly it is a worthless arrangement, binding on neither party. But worked in a simple way by simple minds, it appears to be held as a test of honesty of intention. And—as we shall shortly have opportunity of observing—becomes a security for good behaviour, by affording the means for punishing breaches of matrimonial compact.

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When the bargain has been struck, the damsel's father intimates his formal consent to the marriage by placing his foot on his son-in-law's head, after the mode described in Chapter IV., saying, 'I give'—*tashken*. Affairs may now be held to have reached that stage on the road to matrimonial happiness, somewhat corresponding to the point in the negotiation of French marriages, when the only remaining step to be taken, consists in consulting the young lady's sentiments on the proposed union.

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The dowry is now due from the bridegroom, and he may not recede from his part of his compact; that is to say, if the

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girl accepts him, he must marry her. The power of taking or rejecting this man who aspires to be her future lord being still hers, the opportunity of judging for herself, how far he is to her taste, is now afforded her. Most practical and sensible race!

In the absence of all rites and ceremonies, but with the approval of parents, and in full cognisance of the village community of relatives, these young people are now held to be a married pair, on trial for a day and night. An entire house—eight feet square—is given up to them, and in this they live with closed door during the short period of probation, food being passed in to them by the girl's mother. The damsel is required to make up her mind on the expiry of this brief honeymoon, either to accept or reject her suitor. If she refuse the man, he goes away the subject of depreciatory remarks. If, on the contrary, she should tell her mother that she will have him, the pair are now held to be man and wife.² Neither he nor she can recede from their bargain without punishment; which would take the form of a fine of some portion of the curious dower, if referred to a tribunal of Elders—*kūtacaram*.

The husband now gives his wife a necklace,³ of value according to his means—unmarried girls do not wear necklaces—and sets her up with a new mantle. The bride may receive from affectionate parents little trifles towards beginning to keep house. I tried to ascertain what would be a welcome present on such occasions, but found that after my informant had mentioned a brass cup and plate he stumbled so much, I feel quite within the bounds of safety if I throw in a pair of brass armlets or silver ear-rings.

The wife now either accompanies her husband to his own house, or they both remain in her father's village, according

² Literally *Āl* = 'husband' or 'man.' *Kātvoti* = 'wife' or 'she who is bound to me.' See derivation in Chapter VII., Note 8.

³ Among some of the tribes in South India, marriage is ratified by tying a thread or thin slip of bark round the neck. This practice shows the origin of the Toda custom.

POLYANDRY—MORALITY.

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for the practice of feminine duties, and of acquiring useful experience in the management of affairs. If the husbands should die, the widow would be fully competent to act as trustee of any cattle they may have left, and as guardian of her children, whether she married again, or maintained her single state.

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In the event of a woman not bearing any children to her husband, he may marry again: but in such case he must support the first wife: and, as a matter of course, he has to pay another dower for the second.

586

In possession, therefore, of these evidences of wedded life, and bearing in recollection the staid nature of this singular people, I feel convinced that separation between pairs is not lightly tolerated. Easy-tempered, thoroughly communistic, and not very nice in their discrimination of the duties of husbands and wives to one another, many of the causes which lead to separations amongst civilised people, must be absent from them, and motives for divorce would not be frequent.

What an insight does the simple practice of the dower, not give into the direct nature of their minds! Both parties *promise*, and the promise is their bond! It is not that it is a conscientious people, but so guileless and free from talent for plot, and all so much alike, that seemingly they possess almost intuitive knowledge of one another's intentions. We notice the same peculiarity amongst the inferior animals, and for want of a better word, term it instinct. I have often thought that much of this instantaneous understanding we observe in animals, as well as the rapidity with which, amongst nearly pure races of man, information is disseminated, and the unity of impulse with which they work in combining for a common end, is due greatly to close similarity in cranial contour.¹ Are aly animals ever found associated in herds or troops?

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¹ This peculiarity was a remarkable feature in the Indian Mutiny of the year 1857; the rebellion of a semi-barbarous race, of striking uniformity of cranial development.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pāthchi* and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

551 Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claiming his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

574 When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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* Names used to express relationships in Toda.

English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1. Father	- <i>Ēa, Eyan.</i>	
2. Mother	- <i>Aff.</i>	
3. Son	- <i>Māh.</i>	
4. Daughter	- <i>Kūh.</i>	
5. Father's elder brother	- <i>Peradā</i>	- Great father.
6. " younger "	- <i>Kiradā</i>	- Little do.
7. " elder sister	- <i>Māmi.</i>	
8. " younger "	- <i>Māmi.</i>	
9. Mother's elder brother	- <i>Māmun.</i>	
10. " younger "	- <i>Peradaff</i>	- Great mother.
11. " elder sister	- <i>Kiradaff</i>	- Little do.
12. " younger "	- <i>An</i>	- Brother.
13. Father's brother's son	- <i>Alkan</i>	- Sister.
14. " " daughter	- <i>Nachen.</i>	
15. " sister's son	- <i>Tajmahh</i>	- Female.
16. " " daughter	- <i>An</i>	- Brother.
17. Mother's sister's son	- <i>Alkan</i>	- Sister.
18. " " daughter	- <i>Nachen.</i>	
19. " brother's son	- <i>Tajmahh</i>	- Female.
20. " " daughter	- <i>Tajmahh</i>	- Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear traceable to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Todas have no name for husband and wife beyond *Āit* and *Tajmahh*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal* for January and July 1871, page 28, you is said to be father in Toda. I do not find it so.

Male Names.

Female Names.

- 557
1. *Kāri*, a curved buffalo bell of a *Tivieri* is so called.
 2. *Pernal*, literally a great man.
 3. *Kārikūt*, (lit.) child of jackal.
 4. *Ponkūt*, (lit.) child of gold.
 5. *Tahinkā*, (lit.) do.
 6. *Padrithzh*, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.
 7. *Kādhivā*, (lit.) the man of the funeral.
 8. *Ālvā*, (lit.) a man.
 9. *Belavā*, (lit.) like silver.
 10. *Kirudā*, (lit.) little one.

1. *Kāthavē*, (lit.) silver coin.
2. *Daruthiā*, (lit.) a jewel scale.
3. *Tahindh*, (lit.) gold one.
4. *Berath*, no meaning that I can find out.
5. *Dephili*, (lit.) silver ring.
6. *Pondhilkammā*, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
7. *Kasthira*, (lit.) Catcherry, Sircar office.
8. *Piltimurega*, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
9. *Piltimā*, (lit.) white ring.
10. *Tāhōn*, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a 837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. 583 The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is prob-
ably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father
a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and
ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance,
which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford
sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It
consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being
jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the
time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what
amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into
the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of
stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is
born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for
some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and pre-
sented in public.

582 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanti-
cide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas
never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living
together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any
mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly
marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the
system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas
for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only
be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should
be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble
bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage
of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual
faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excel-
lences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite
case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted,
and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered
over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till
distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propi-
tious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

He also gives a feast. If the father is not alive, the duty devolves on his brothers, real or classificatory, in his immediate family, then on the woman's brothers, real or classificatory, in the immediate family, then on the generation of her brothers' sons. This obligation, both in regard to "bribe" and to "dowry," is still maintained in most cases between the two communities. The missionaries in this case approve, at least, Miss Ling approves. About ten years ago the Christian [kišker] gave one buffalo to [kemo3] (21, Keinodz), who is not a Christian, as "bribe" for the latter's classificatory sister [sodamut] (Sadamut), who was already a Christian; [kemo3] then gave three buffaloes as "dowry." Previously the non-Christian [idjom] had given "dowry" for his Christian sister [lamdiŋ] (20, Numdeivi) when she was married to [kišker], the "bribe" having been given by the latter. When [kišker]'s father's sister [tuarŋumemj] (59, Turvalami) was married to [piθjo-naf] (64, Puthion), both the latter being non-Christians, a "bribe" was given to [kišker] by the latter and [kišker] gave three buffaloes as "dowry." [kuarom], who got his wife from the Todas by carrying her off (the [ter] pattern), did not give a "bribe" or get "dowry," though it is clear that the tribal patterns demanded it.

We find then that the tribe, though it has some resentment against the Christian converts from its ranks and treats them in some respects as outcastes, yet retains with them some rather important relationships. In marriage affairs the Christian Todas tend to be treated, without compulsion on either side, as if they were still members of the tribe. In funeral matters the tribe tries to demand that the Christians should fulfil their obligations, though the Christians are on the whole unwilling to meet them. If we look at the Badagas, we find that Christian converts from their ranks are outcastes and that the original community has no relations at all with them. No Kota has ever become a Christian. When we go to the more classical Hindu areas, we find from missionary accounts at least (few other accounts have ever been given), that in many cases the Christian converts are entirely outcaste and that no relations are maintained with the castes of origin other than that of extreme hostility on the part of the caste (the picture is perhaps not so simple as this, but accounts are defective). Can any explanation be given for the peculiar features in the Toda case? It is possibly to be found in the general situation. The areas in which the tribe and the Christians live is comparatively small, the two communities see much of one another necessarily, the Christian community still retains cattle as a necessary part of its economic life and so has a community of interest with the tribe and moreover has had to depend on the tribe in part for

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[583]

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171794
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[233]

[Melgarsh Village]

290

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

571 With this money, each individual recipient kept the following mem-
621 bers of the family:

Pads: Silidz, Kupidz, Narjilkh and Kuddhue, when the latter is not working elsewhere as a priest (in which case the *mad* where he is employed feeds and clothes him).

Mutnarsh: Erzigwuf, Fershrörsh, Pengelam, Sodup, Sodam, Peterozn, Karnoz and Nalsirwuf.

Munbokwutn: gives the money he earns to his father Pads.

Singud: Odzel, Singarsh and Amoniwuf.

Pilkhliwuwutn: Motsoc, Izam, Kiraharshwutn and Nārshmalī.

Pufvkiaroz: Mutmali only.

422 The Melgarsh *mad* owned twenty-seven buffaloes and three baby
[23] calves when I was with them in 1949. These were distributed as follows:

17 ordinary (*putir*) buffaloes and one baby calf.

10 sacred (*postir* or *parshashir*) buffaloes and three baby calves.

These belonged to the following as set out below:

1. Singarsh and Singud (in common; this was also the case when they each had a wife and it is, therefore, not linked to their present polyandrous marriage): 6 buffaloes and 1 calf (2 *postir*, 2 *putir*, 2 grown *putir* calves and 1 small *putir* male (*er*) calf).

2. Purshwuö (absentee from Melgarsh, living at Karsh with his wife; his buffaloes are, however, at Melgarsh): 4 buffaloes (1 *postir*, 1 large *postir er* calf and 2 *putir*).

3. Pads: 14 buffaloes and 2 small calves (7 *putir*, 4 *putir* female (*ir*) calves, 1 *postir ir* calf, 2 *postir er* calves, 1 baby *postir er* calf).

4. Mutnarsh, Kuddhue and Munbokwutn (held in common): 3 buffaloes and one calf (3 *postir*, 1 baby *postir ir* calf).

425 Karnoz used to own eight buffaloes, but after two years of married life with Nalsirwuf, he decided to get rid of most of them in favour of the younger men. He thus kept only two (which are now at Kakhwurkh in the care of relative there) and gave the others as follows: three to his sons (the ones shown above, and held jointly by them), two to Singarsh and Singud, and the remaining one to his father-in-law, the father of Nalsirwuf.

425 In acting thus, Karnoz was actually forestalling the disposal of his
428 property before his death, as is the practice with most Todas. Should a man die without doing this, his wealth goes jointly to his sons. Should he have no issue, it will be handed to his brothers or to the sons of the

[522] latter. Girls can never inherit; all they can hope to get is a dowry from
[583] their deceased parents' property, which the heirs should pay to them at the time of their wedding.

To 2196
 302 have any except buffalo butter, which they
 524 rub into it. They are very fond of sporting
 games, and the country is green and rolling
 with many hills and is very nice to play
 about in.

To 595
 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail,
 will best enable us to compare their system
 to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the
 property here is not the axis around which
 polyandry turns.

To 595
 582 Three brothers married, polyandrously,
 422 a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She
 was married to one of her cousins when
 she was two years old, as is the practice.
 When she came of age, however, she mar-
 ried these three brothers. She had no
 children and died quite early, so that the
 three brothers were left without any chil-
 dren and without a wife. Then, the
 following thing occurred. The eldest
 brother Eroï, married a young woman,
 known as Sotaboof, and went off on his
 own; i.e., he was not willing that his two
 brothers should share this woman with
 him. He became a government agent,
 and because he had founded a family of
 his own, he was entitled to take his part
 of the buffalo belonging in common to all
 three brothers. He took one-third of the
 buffalo away, and two extra, although I
 cannot remember why; but the important
 thing is that he was entitled to a share of
 the common property.

To 595
 • 583 The two others tried to marry a woman
 592 called Mab. The second brother, Kiel,
 asked Mab's father, but the father started
 haggling with him over the bride-price.
 (They have to pay a price for a girl, a
 custom which does not exist among the
 Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine
 buffaloes, which the young man would not
 give and left in a huff. Then the third
 brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon
 after she became pregnant. In the mean-
 time, her father died and the second
 brother, hearing of this from Konoch,
 returned to the house and asked if she
 would accept him as her second husband,
 which she did, even though she was
 pregnant from the third brother. The

220C.

To
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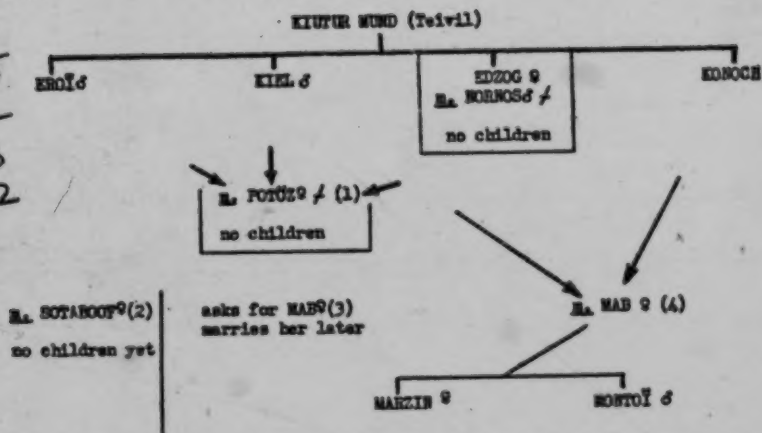


FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kanan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoach, has already married her. (4) Konoach originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
 771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
 1793 priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the prepara-
 1234 tion of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
 1552 priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

234 The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
 778 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
 342 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
 272 especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
 152 the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
 which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
 people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so funda-
 mental that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churn-
 ing, may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
 to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
 is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
 in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
 sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
 it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
 just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
 model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
 territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
 "patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
 851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-
 celebrated bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
 the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
 public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
 183 are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
 583 polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "pub-
 595 lic" statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
 uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
 611 Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
 114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
 sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
 useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
 show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
 his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can